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SAFETY THROUGH AN ARMS RACE

We must challenge this old theory

—EMRYS HUGHES MP

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

EMRYS HUGHES, MP, successfully opposed a motion that "The Pacifist is not a realist," in a debate in the London University Union last week.

As briefly reported in Peace News last Friday, the motion was defeated with 37 votes against and 32 for. Six abstained.

Peter Kirk, Conservative MP for Gravesend (the seat formerly held by Sir Richard Acland), proposed the motion.

"Pacifism," he said, "strikes at the fundamentals of the whole foreign policy of this country. Pacifism is the denial of the use of force in any circumstances. It is a deliberate rejection of force in order to gain a moral advantage."

"Disarmament is courageous but impractical."

"If the world disarmed there would be no war, but whether it is right or moral, is it realistic to disarm while one nation is armed?"

"The primary function of the State is to preserve the safety of the people from attack, but I don't believe what one of my opponents at Gravesend said, that if we stood naked before the world the moral effect would make others join the crusade."

He alleged that both world wars had occurred because the western democracies, especially Britain, had disarmed. Collective security had saved Korea.

DUTY OF THE STATE

Emrys Hughes, opposing the motion, said he hardly thought that Germany went to war because of the Oxford Union's 1933 resolution not to fight "for King and Country," as Mr. Kirk had alleged, or because of the famous Fulham By-election result.

"Pacifism, like Christianity, has never been tried. There has never been unilateral disarmament. Pacifists have never controlled the policies of this country, and it is absurd to talk of the Tory Governments between 1916 and 1939 as dictated to in any sense by pacifists."

"The safety of the people is the duty of the State. How is the safety of the people guaranteed today by force—the Bomb? Every scientist has said and every military authority should say that Atom or H-bombs cannot safeguard our people. You can only make the safety of others problematical. Even General MacArthur has concluded that arms are obstacles in the light of today."

"We must challenge the old theory that an arms race can bring safety. The next war, we are told, may literally be over in six hours. If we pile up arms we are going straight into universal suicide."

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Dr. Soper on Methodist
ethics today

FROM SMUGGLING TO PACIFISM

HENRY CARTER, "a man underestimated both by his friends and his enemies," was responsible for bringing Dr. Donald Soper to pacifism.

Dr. Soper revealed this to about 150 members of the Methodist Peace Fellowship, of which he is President, when the Fellowship met to celebrate its 21st anniversary on November 5. During the celebrations, the Rev. Hickman Johnson, a veteran pacifist, told of the original Methodist Peace Group and of the Fellowship of Reconciliation group in Truro, where he served before going to India.

His adventures as a missionary refusing to recruit native soldiers were both entertaining and challenging.

Unusual conditional exemption

Dr. Pearson, of Birmingham, spoke of the pacifist conviction to which he came as a medical student attending the Student Christian Movement international conference. His Tribunal gave him an unusual condition of exemption—he had to leave the country within three months!

After serving with the Quakers in Russia, and receiving an ikon as an expression of gratitude from the village in which they

● ON BACK PAGE

BRITAIN MUST LEAD THE NATIONS TO ABANDON WAR

—Chairman, London
Co-op Party

NEW CALL TO REPEAL NATIONAL SERVICE ACTS

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

THE London Co-operative Party Conference, which met at Bethnal Green last week-end, passed the following important resolutions with overwhelming majorities:

1. "That this Conference records its determination to oppose the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction on territory controlled by the British Government; storing of them on such territory; launching of them from such territory."

2. "This Conference reaffirms the demand for the repeal of the National Service Acts made by the London Conference, 1954. It is therefore greatly concerned that no action has been taken on the assurance given by the platform at the time, that an attempt would be made to gain the reversal of the National Party's support for conscription. Conference therefore calls upon the Political Committee to give urgent consideration to this question, and to place a suitable motion on the agenda of the 1956 National Conference."

The resolution on nuclear weapons was brought in by the West Willesden branch of the Party.

Cyprus

The North Tottenham branch introduced the National Service Acts resolution, which was moved by Ron Isaacs, a pacifist member of the Labour Peace Fellowship.

An emergency motion on Cyprus, put forward by Finchley branch, also gained a large majority:

"This Conference condemns the Tory Government for reverting to military measures to resolve the problem of Cyprus. It declares that no territory should be made a military base against the desires of a majority of its inhabitants. It calls upon the Government to declare itself in favour of self-determination for the people of Cyprus and demands an early withdrawal of British troops."

Cost of living

A resolution on the cost of living, moved by Ron Huzzard, a Quaker and member of the Labour Peace Fellowship, supported "claims by working people for the full fruits of their labour and believes that the cost of living can be stabilised and even reduced," by, among other things, "ending the existing Colonial Wars and reducing other military expenditure."

The Chairman, Mr. E. P. Bell, in his address to the Conference said:

"Our economy is distorted to breaking point by the colossal expenditure on armaments. Man-power, materials and capital wealth are being squandered. For what? To secure peace? I do not believe it."

U.S. QUAKERS SEEK TO END SEDITION LAWS

"No man should be persecuted for his ideas"

"OFTEN the interest of the nation in security and the interest in freedom for each individual are said to be in conflict; we respectfully submit that in the long run the two are interdependent."

These words appear in the brief filed on behalf of a Quaker Group which has asked the US Supreme Court to rule a 1919 Pennsylvania sedition law invalid. They do this on the ground that "no man should be persecuted for advocacy of religious or political ideas nor be condemned for mere associations." Their plea was filed in support of a ruling by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court reversing the conviction of a Pittsburgh labour leader, Steve Nelson, under the Pennsylvania Sedition Act.

Meeting human needs

The brief continues: "Freedom to speak, freedom to read, freedom to write and freedom to travel—these are ends of great worth but they are also necessary means to a vital, functioning democracy."

"If we are to co-exist on this earth with other political, social and economic systems, then we want to compete with them for the allegiance of those not yet committed to any system. We want to demonstrate the superiority of our way of meeting human needs."

The brief, which was published on November 14 in pamphlet form, was filed by three prominent Philadelphia attorneys, Walter C. Longstreth, Allen S. Olmsted, and William Rahill, at the request of the Friends Civil Liberties Committee, a 22-member group appointed by the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends. The committee consists of representa-

"Shotgun blast... sniper's bullets" THE WRONG MEN AT GENEVA

"Secretary of State Dulles' great value at this sort of conference... is his ability to dissect the opposition case and to pounce on weaknesses... Mr. Macmillan's reputation as one of the toughest debaters in the House of Commons has been maintained here. His criticisms have been enveloping, a shotgun blast compared with Mr. Dulles' sniper's bullets. Antoine Pinay, French Foreign Minister, has perhaps been the sharpest of the three ministers. Uncoloured by optimism and scornfully suspicious of any Soviet proposal, he has irked Mr. Molotov from the outset."

—Drew Middleton, reporting from Geneva on the Foreign Ministers' Conference, New York Times, November 14, 1955.

Four years ago Peace News quoted the American Quaker report on US foreign policy, "Steps to Peace," which said of international meetings of statesmen:

"It becomes more important to score a headline victory tomorrow than to discover the substance for an agreement next week."

"This mad race to develop the destructive power of nuclear energy can only end in the annihilation of civilisation."

"The representatives of the Governments of the great powers meet at Geneva. For what? To secure a reduction of armaments, to resolve the problems which bedevil international relationships. That is their avowed purpose, but all they do is to continue the old game of power politics in which all seem equally involved."

Peace is our policy

"Britain must lead the nations to abandon this evil game of diplomacy and war."

"Surely the first point of our policy is clear and definite, there must be an end to continuity of British foreign policy. Peace is our policy. As a first step let Britain lead the British Commonwealth in a reduction of armaments and a renunciation of nuclear weapons. Let us cease to talk and be the first to act."

"Then let us turn the capital, the materials, and the man-power so realised into socially useful channels. Let us use these resources in part to make our own land a prosperous co-operation in our hearts and in our deeds to those who need our help in the underdeveloped countries of the world."

tives from local Quaker meetings in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware.

Sedition laws in 37 other states would be affected by the Supreme Court's ruling, Mr. A. Burns Chalmers, Chairman of Quaker Civil Liberties Committee told the Press last week.

A number of people had recently been investigated or indicted under sedition statutes in four additional states, and at least seven indictments, those in the Louisville bombing cases, have involved questions of racial segregation. The decision in the Nelson case, it is felt, will have an important bearing on future efforts to implement the Supreme Court decisions on integration in Southern Schools and other public facilities.

Speaking of the Society of Friends, Mr. Chalmers said that many Quakers had been subjected to "indignities and cruelties in prisons" for attempting to worship according to their beliefs. The early establishment of religious and political freedom in Pennsylvania by the Quaker followers of William Penn was a direct result of the lack of such freedoms in the Old World at that time.

Hearing of the case was due to begin last week.

*Under Kentucky's sedition statute seven people have been indicted. One of the seven, Carl Braden, a former journalist on the Louisville Courier-Journal staff, has been sentenced to 15 years in prison and a \$5,000 fine. These indictments grew out of the bombing of a Negro home in a white suburb of Louisville. Braden, a white man, had purchased the home and transferred it to the Negro family. He was convicted of sedition for allegedly stirring racial unrest. The persons who had blown up the home were not apprehended.

Come to the Peace News Bazaar and Film Show to-morrow — see back page

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To be indignant without understanding is what makes men wicked. —ALAIN.

TESTING TIME

THE ending of the second Geneva meeting finds the statesmen of the world barren of any constructive idea. They do not know which way to turn.

The "Summit" meeting in July registered a common recognition of stalemate. Each side had become aware that it was too dangerous to seek to realise its objectives by the traditional method of war or threat of war. Each side, however, seems to have taken the inconsequential view that this realisation might lead to a different attitude on the side of the opposing group and that therefore it would be a good policy to mark time and see what might happen.

It has taken this second meeting to show them that this is a fallacy, and that the completely new situation that faces the Great Powers today calls for a completely new outlook if there is not to be world disaster. For the precarious security provided by the H-bomb stalemate is a wasting asset. We shall either find a radically different way of dealing with the world's problems or we shall face destruction.

The complete bankruptcy of ideas of the statesmen in the face of the present unparalleled situation was made very evident by the speech delivered at Gettysburg by Mr. Dulles, after he had gone over its text in detail with President Eisenhower, and in which he summed up the position after the Geneva meetings as seen by the US Government.

The "summit conference" had made it less likely that there would be "open war." Nothing that had happened at the Foreign Ministers' conference had changed that, "so that aspect of the Geneva spirit remains." The cold war would continue, however, and there would be no drastic revision in the US programmes for defence and mutual security. "The general order of magnitude can remain as planned."

The US President and the Foreign Minister have been unable to produce a single constructive word. The statesmen are at a nonplus. They can find nothing that they can do that offers positive hope.

Marshal Bulganin speaking in India, also thought that the Geneva spirit remained, and thought that the problems awaiting settlement would be solved; but he equally had no positive new policy to present that would offer the world any other promise of security than mutual terror.

It is true that he spoke as if the cold war were no longer being waged, and said that his Government "do not wish it to return," and this can be held as an indication that the threat of assured peace has less terrors for the spokesmen of Russia than it has for the spokesmen of America.

The statesmen, then, have no policy to deal with the situation—merely a marking-time period which may provide them with an opportunity to find one. They will only find a policy that will fit the situation, however, if they are brought to consider much more radical conceptions of change than they are at present able to contemplate.

This, it seems to us, puts a very special responsibility upon pacifists and others who have rejected the traditional ways of thinking about society. Are they equally at a nonplus with the statesmen and politicians? If not, the present is the time when they must speak out to the world with a message of hope.

There are only two ways of dealing with the affairs of the world: the way of mastery, and the way of brotherhood. The statesmen of the powers have always acted on the assumption that the way of mastery was the only way that could be followed. Pacifists and the radical thinkers with whom they have kinship have always rejected the way of mastery and have declared for the way of brotherhood.

Today the way of mastery threatens our general destruction. The only hope lies in the way of brotherhood.

It is for pacifists and those akin to them to point that way. Their message must be a two-fold one: they have to point to the futility of armaments; and they have also to give clear expression to the positive policies of human brotherhood that the abandonment of armaments will make possible.

Today is a testing time for the statesmen of the world; but it is also a testing time for those who have challenged the traditional conceptions upon which the statesmen act. May they not fail!

Third Tier

FOR men who are assured that war is now unlikely—that peace as "the sturdy child of terror" is guaranteed by the possession of the H-bomb by the USA, Russia, and Britain—the statesmen of today are manifesting a singularly feverish "just in case" activity.

Thus the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Macmillan, and the Chief of the British Imperial General Staff, Sir Gerald Templar, have been in Bagdad this week, engaged on the additional "defence" organisation known as the Bagdad Pact.

NATO, being inadequate, had to be supplemented by SEATO. Then, despite this two-fold military structure and despite also the great accumulation of H-bombs it was held that there was still a serious gap in security arrangements and this Bagdad pact, linking Britain for military purposes with Turkey, Iraq, Persia and Pakistan had to be brought into being.

One result of the Bagdad pact, we are told, is that for the first time an Arab nation will enter into "international defence duties" and will have ceased to regard defence as something "narrow and local," having regard only to its own territory.

One further step will have been taken that is to say, to securing that wars shall only be fought on the world level and therefore shall involve nuclear warfare.

"London's Burning"

IN Britain next May, in preparation for the war that cannot take place, there are to be exercises in which military and civil defence forces are to co-operate.

The exercises are to cover London and the Eastern and South Eastern regions and the comparable areas of the military command.

The civil defence directors of these regions will thus have an opportunity to see their forces in action, although what are to be assumed as the circumstances in which they are to act has yet to be decided. The Government has not yet said how it will protect the population in a nuclear war, and no policy on the question of evacuation has been decided upon.

US policy is based on the evacuation of cities. But the fact that even this is a completely impracticable policy was revealed as soon as it was discussed in detail. And this despite there being wide territories outside the cities to which evacuations could be made. We in Britain have no such spaces and an evacuation policy would be meaningless.

To state the assumptions upon which the exercises will be conducted would reveal their futility. Is it to be assumed that there is to be one H-bomb on London's centre? On such an assumption there could obviously be exercises in salvaging on the outskirts of the London catacombs. But the inevitable question must follow: why should such an assumption be made? We are informed by those who have made an expert study of this question that only eight H-bombs, suitably placed, could destroy, not merely London but the whole life of Britain; and eight is not an extravagant number out of the accumulated stocks.

There will then be no setting out of the detailed assumptions upon which these exercises are to be undertaken—merely emollient noises on the adminis-

BEHIND THE NEWS

trative aspects of a meaningless job. To give such detail would reveal either the extreme improbability of the assumptions or the extreme futility of the exercises.

The exercises will be just an expensive and wasteful facade to conceal the emptiness behind.

Here are gifts

THE familiar pattern of action is to be followed in Cyprus that we have seen so many times before.

We say to a people who claim a democratic right to decide their own future: Consent to remain unfree and we will make you more prosperous.

We have recently seen this same course followed in Guiana as we have seen it in Kenya.

It is true—we tell these people—that your economic and social conditions up to now have left much to be desired, but now we have seen our errors and we will put things right. All you have to do is to consent not to be free. It is true that a great deal of the help we shall give you will have to be spent in providing means for the forcible suppression of any aspirations for freedom that our newly-found benevolence has not removed; but there can, of course, be no advance to prosperity without stability. Therefore we will first strengthen the police force and see that it is reliable; after which we will bring you the benefits that it is in our power to confer, but which we have previously overlooked.

The sum of £38,000,000 is to be spent in a development plan for Cyprus. There will be help in agricultural development; communications and electrical development will be assisted; and there will be plans for the development of a modern port which, in the words of Sir John Harding, can "help make Cyprus the busiest, most prosperous island in the Mediterranean."

The first charge, however, will be for the "organisation of a police force fully capable of being an effective instrument of public security."

A warped statement

ON November 18, at the close of the Geneva meeting of Foreign Ministers, Mr. D. N. Pritt, President of the British Peace Committee, issued a statement on behalf of his Committee, which is published on page eight.

This provides one more example of the kind of pronouncement that could obviously not be put out by a body whose concern for peace comes before a concern to protect from criticism one of the parties to the negotiations that have ended in disappointment and frustration.

It will be observed that Mr. Pritt opens his statement with a reference to "Mr. Macmillan's failure to secure even limited agreement." Mr. Macmillan failed, it is true, but the failure was no more his than it was the failure of all the other Foreign Ministers present: those of the USA, France, and Russia.

We agree, of course, with some of the comments that Mr. Pritt makes in his statement. The attitude of the West to

a unified Germany and NATO is obviously one that Russia cannot be expected to accept, but Mr. Pritt is being a great deal less than candid here.

A disposition on the part of the Russians to talk seriously on the question of "free elections" for Germany could have changed the whole situation in this regard, and it is unworthy of the members of the British Peace Committee to ignore this aspect of the matter.

Whatever may be the views on the question of electoral methods of Mr. Pritt and the Communist members of the BPC, there must be some on that body who do not feel that their membership requires their acceptance of the methods that have been imposed on East Germany.

Similarly with regard to East-West contacts: it is not true that the Russians were told that "they must accept all Western proposals or none." The West simply refused to isolate the question of East-West trade to the exclusion of every other aspect of East-West contacts.

The question of the freedom of contact of peoples and ideas across frontiers is one with which any peace committee should be concerned, and as honest comment on this aspect of the discussions would not have stopped short at the remark that "Mr. Macmillan refused to negotiate on easing barriers to East-West trade."

A World's Fair and Peace

A WORLD'S FAIR in Brussels is being planned for April, 1958. The Commissioner-General for the Fair, Baron Moens de Fertig, makes for it the kind of claim that has been made since World's Fairs began. It is to help towards Peace.

"The future can no longer be faced on a local or national level. Mutual tolerance and understanding between peoples is indispensable to peace. The 1958 Brussels Exhibition must therefore emphasise the necessity of an exhaustive humanitarian activity on a level of mutual understanding. If this aim is achieved, the exhibition will have made its mark in history. It will have helped man to have faith in his destiny."

This Fair will have a different keynote from all that have gone before, however. It is to be a huge model of the atom. Nine great balls made of stainless steel or aluminium will rise in a six-hundred-foot high representation of the structure of the atom. The whole structure, containing lifts and escalators will be called the Atomium.

There is to be a special hall devoted to world co-operation and invitations to participate here will be extended to bodies like the United Nations, the ILO, the International Red Cross and the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation.

"We will try to find innovations," says Baron Moens de Fertig. "We will avoid all conventional forms and endeavour to promote new and original ideas."

We offer him two suggestions. The first is that beside the International Red Cross the War Resisters International should be represented, and that in regard to the general scope of the Fair devoted to world co-operation he should bring into consultation the International Committee of Organisations for Peace.

With all that uranium in the Congo it would be too much to suggest the Movement for Colonial Freedom might have a place too.

Not the answer : Phonographs at a dime a piece

I HAVE had the privilege during the past couple of days of welcoming Martin Niemoller and Mrs. Niemoller to the US and launching them on the first leg of a month's tour under the auspices of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Robert Treat Paine Foundation, which provides lectureships in theological seminaries on the theology of Christian pacifism.

One of our adventures has been having a movie made of Niemoller giving a fifteen minute address on pacifism.

On November 11—which we no longer call Armistice Day, but Veteran's Day over here—he thrilled an audience of hundreds who packed Holy Trinity Lutheran Church in New York with his call to pacifist action.

Speaking of Niemoller reminds me of Germany and the tremendous struggle against rearmament which Niemoller and others have carried on. The day after he gave his address here on "The Way to Peace—1918-1955," the West German Army was born in Bonn.

Yet all the indications are that almost nobody is fired up over it and that the government itself is aware that progress in building armed forces if it takes place at all, will be slow.

Defence Minister Herr Blank swore in one hundred and one—actually one over a hundred—members. The ceremony took place in a garage—shades of Hitler, Hindenburg and Kaiser Wilhelm—and most of the officers were not even in uniform.

Another encouraging report is that of the 172,000 applicants for the new Army less than 18 per cent are youths and non-veterans. Let us hope that the millions of youth who are thus displaying their lack of interest in volun-

teering will also develop the determination and courage to stand firm against being conscripted.

I have been meaning to comment on a very significant admission made by some of the leading figures in the Eisenhower Administration a couple of weeks ago.

The occasion was a conference held in Washington under the auspices of an organisation bearing the ponderous name of Foundation for Religious Action in the Social and Civil Order.

Its co-chairman is Rev. Dr. Edward L. R. Elson of the National Presbyterian Church in the capital, the President's own pastor.

Cheap phonographs

The frankest statement made at the gathering was given by Admiral Arthur W. Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Said the Admiral: "It is obvious that the Communists have made amazing gains, largely because they know what they believe, why they believe it, and can explain it. On the other hand, we who are free have many times been incoherent or have lacked the verbal ability to explain or defend completely what our way of life really is. We must know what we mean by it. We must be convinced that it presents the very best way of life in today's world—and I think we are. But we must be able to explain this conviction to others."

James Reston, one of the most brilliant and outspoken of the New York Times' special reporters, called attention to the fact that in recent months President Eisenhower himself had often lamented that the US, which spent so much time and energy on the arts of persuasion, "is no longer able to articulate its convictions effectively beyond the seas."

Reston surely puts his finger on the real trouble when he remarks that the major emphasis in Washington has been placed on "the technical means of distributing the

American story rather than on what to say."

As if on purpose to caricature this emphasis on publicity technique for solving the world's problems and staying the advance of Communism, the New York Times came out with the headline: A 50 cent Phonograph Is The Newest US Weapon.

David Sarnoff, chairman of the board of the Radio Corporation of America, unveiled the new weapons, "a rugged little hand-operated phonograph (Gramophone to my English readers) that can be manufactured for 50 cents or less." It weighs only ten ounces. It plays records which can be manufactured for a nickel.

The little machine is unbreakable, Mr. Sarnoff assured his listeners. It can be dropped, complete with records about the democratic faith and the American way of life, "behind the Iron or Bamboo Curtain" and at the price "millions could be delivered gratis."

But let us take Reston's cue and consider the content of the message the new gadget is to bring home to the captives of Communism.

Presumably, it is to be a message of liberation. And this reminds us that the Eisenhower Administration started out with the announcement that liberation of peoples under the Communist yoke, not mere "containment" of Communism, was the policy for which it was going to carry on a great "crusade."

The Chinese masses were to be freed, North Korea, Indo-China, East Germany, the Satellite countries of Europe and presently the Russian people themselves.

Now one of the things that "Geneva" stands for is that, in the present view of the Eisenhower Administration, the Communist regimes and their rulers are regimes and rulers with whom you "co-exist," not regimes and rulers from whom peoples should be and are to be liberated.

There is no longer any idea of liberating

Letter from USA by A.J. Muste

continental China, North Korea, North Vietnam, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and so on.

It is hardly necessary, except for some one who may be reading me for the first time, to say that in so far as this means that the US has no intention of going to war in order to change the status quo in these lands I welcome it.

Indeed, one of the big defects in the earlier programme of "liberation" by the threat of "massive retaliation" was precisely that people who truly needed in many ways to be liberated could not conceive of war as a means of accomplishing that end or believe that American bases in all corners of the earth were bastions of liberty.

But that "democracy" itself should have become synonymous with maintenance of the status quo and should no longer have any attraction as over against totalitarianism, this is indeed tragic.

Who wants a record?

Under these conditions to peoples in the so-called underdeveloped countries, Communism is in the short run a means of liberation from ancient forms of tyranny. It at least is for drastic changes in the extant social order. Even in countries like France, Italy and Spain—presently it will be seen to be true in many Latin-American countries also—there are basic social cleavages which American policy does not know how to resolve and which, so long as they remain, will provide an opportunity for Communism.

Even if we produce phonographs at a dime apiece and records at a penny, so that we can supply them to every family in the impoverished parts of the world and in countries ruled by monolithic parties, this will not enable us to make "democracy" attractive.

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Fair and Peace

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by A.J. Muste

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We need peace in Malaya

TRAFALGAR SQUARE RALLY

By Olwen Battersby

"THE war now lingering on in Malaya in its seventh year has cost this country £65 million a year; it has cost Britain and Malaya between them during the seven years well over £1,000 million," said Mr. Bob Edwards, speaking from the plinth of Trafalgar Square on November 13 at a rally organised by the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

There was continuous drizzle; the audience shivered but remained intent.

Recently it had been estimated by Lord Boyd Orr that to create a world of plenty, to bring water to the deserts, to build up a life of security for our children and a good life for all men everywhere, would cost some £4,000 million a year.

"All this can be achieved in our own lifetime, if we do away with imperialism throughout the world," Bob Edwards concluded.

"My country is a rich country," said Miss Gladys Lim, of Malaya, "rich in rubber, tin, and oil. The millionaires of rubber and tin have paid to their shareholders dividends of as much as 200 per cent. In the midst of this the Malayan worker is poor, and his wages are low. Forty per cent of our children have no education at all.

"The war, which has caused only bitterness, has cost us in Malaya £30 million a year; our trade union leaders have been arrested and detained without trial; 600,000 Malaysians have been uprooted and removed to barbed wire villages.

16,000 casualties

"But the war has cost you, the British taxpayers, £65 million a year—£5 for every family. Twenty battalions of British Empire troops have been engaged, many of your young conscripts are among the 16,000 casualties of this war.

"You need peace in Malaya; we need peace in Malaya, together let us force an end to this terrible war."

The war in Malaya was a part of the heroic struggle of all colonial peoples—the Indonesians against the Dutch, the Vietnamese against the French, and the Malaysians against the British—in their determination to be free. Independence was their birthright, and get it they must.

This was the view expressed by all the remaining speakers: Mr. Wan Mamid, of Malaya, Mr. Ram Pande, of India, Mr. Stan Awbery, described as MP for Malaya, and Mr. Harold Davies, MP, who summed up the feeling of the meeting when he said:

"The present relationship between Oriental man and Western man is doomed to die.

"Malaya is a land rich in the raw materials essential to Western civilisation. But surely now, in the middle of the 20th century, man with his progress, his culture, his technological equipment, can evolve a system of society which will give access to raw materials without withholding from the peoples of South-East Asia their right to self-government."

FAILURE AND SUCCESS

Once again a generous friend has offered to give the last £100 to complete the £1,000 which is the aim of Headquarters Fund for 1955.

Will other readers follow this encouraging example and promise to make up another £100 if the total reaches £800 by Christmas?

I am sure that we shall be able to claim any amounts thus offered, because we have now passed the £700 mark. So that would only leave a further £100 to be raised, and I know I can rely on those who read this appeal to send in enough to ensure that we shall once again fulfil our aim.

It was to be expected that the Foreign Secretaries would fail to achieve anything at Geneva, because they were approaching their problems from false premises and the wrong angle. In a sense their failure is a justification of our beliefs and assertions, and there is greater need than ever for increasing activity by pacifists to restore hope to a disillusioned world, and to point the real logic of the position.

If we could do nothing but anticipate their failure, we have every reason to anticipate our success—the ultimate acceptance of pacifism as the basis of a peaceful world and the immediate acceptance of our own individual responsibility to spread our message. So, please, help us to fulfil our anticipation and crown another year with success for the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund.

STUART MORRIS, General Secretary.

Our aim for 1955: £1,000. Amount received to date: £701.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.

Send YOUR pledge to P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

NEW YORK DEMONSTRATORS ON TRIAL

CD Law: "A violation of freedom of speech"

—DEFENCE ATTORNEY

The trial of 20 of the American pacifists who demonstrated in New York's City Hall Park against a nation-wide civil defence exercise in June took place last week. The magistrate will hand down his verdict on December 5.

They refused to go into shelters when ordered to do so. Instead they walked towards the City Hall to deliver a letter which pointed out that "Such public and publicised tests help to create the illusion that the nation can shield people from war's effects. We can have no part in helping to create this illusion."

The following report of the hearing comes from JIM PECK, one of those arrested and a member of the War Resisters' League of New York.

AFTER several adjournments, the trial of 20 of us who pleaded not guilty in the June 15 civil defence case took place on November 16 before Magistrate Hyman Bushel.

By repeatedly chiding our trial attorney, Kenneth Greenawalt; by prompting the prosecutor, Patrick Healy, on when to raise objections; by cross-examining our witnesses in an obviously antagonistic tone of voice, and by excluding much of the material which our lawyers found relevant, Magistrate Bushel clearly indicated his hostility toward us and our cause.

Some of his remarks to Greenawalt, which were somewhat inconsistent with the decorum generally associated with courtrooms, were:

"You haven't got Molotov among your witnesses, have you?"

"I wouldn't care whether they (we defendants) were praying or playing pool (at the time of the arrest)."

To the State's only witness, Col. Henry Hearn, of the Auxiliary Police, who made the arrests, he asked: "If they (we defendants) urinated in the park, you'd lock them up, too?"

On the question of whether police hadn't had a paddy wagon on the spot indicating that they planned an arrest in advance, Magistrate Bushel remarked: "If they didn't they should have had it there."

Pacifist evidence refused

He refused to admit in evidence any literature or publications of the pacifist organisations involved, and barred almost all of our witnesses' testimony dealing with motivation for the June 15 protest action.

However, when A. J. Muste took the stand, he got an opportunity to express our viewpoint—in response to some derisive remarks point—made by the Magistrate. Muste asserted that our refusal to participate in the June 15 drill was because "the drill was part of war preparation under a Military Defence Act and did not apply to a clear and present danger."

Asked what we would do in the event of a real bombing, Muste said:

"We would do everything in our power to save human life and relieve suffering—but not as part of a military machine or under a military conscription act."

Other of our witnesses, selected to testify because they represent the various viewpoints involved, took the stand but were barred from expressing their positions. They included Ralph DiGia, representing the non-religious War Resisters' League position; Eileen Fantino, the Catholic Worker; Kent Larrabee, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and Quaker position, and Henry Maiden, the position of the legally recognised conscientious objector.

H-bomb protest

Jackson MacLow, who acted as an individual on another issue on June 15 (protesting the atom and hydrogen bomb tests which have been conducted by the US), but was arrested with the group, also took the stand and did get the opportunity to express his position.

In summing up, our Attorney Greenawalt expressed the viewpoint that the New York Civil Defence Act, under which we were arrested, is a violation of freedom of speech and of religion, provisions of both the state and federal constitutions.

Assisting Greenawalt at the counsel table were our chief attorney, Harrop Freeman and Conrad Lynn, who defended us on the day of the arrest. Briefs will be filed by both sides, and Magistrate Bushel will hand down his verdict on December 5.

Briefly

When Deputy Emmy Mayer-Laule complained in the West German Parliament that toy aircraft bearing Nazi Swastika markings are being sold in Bonn she was told that they were made in the USA and that a government department was having talks with the US Embassy about their sale.

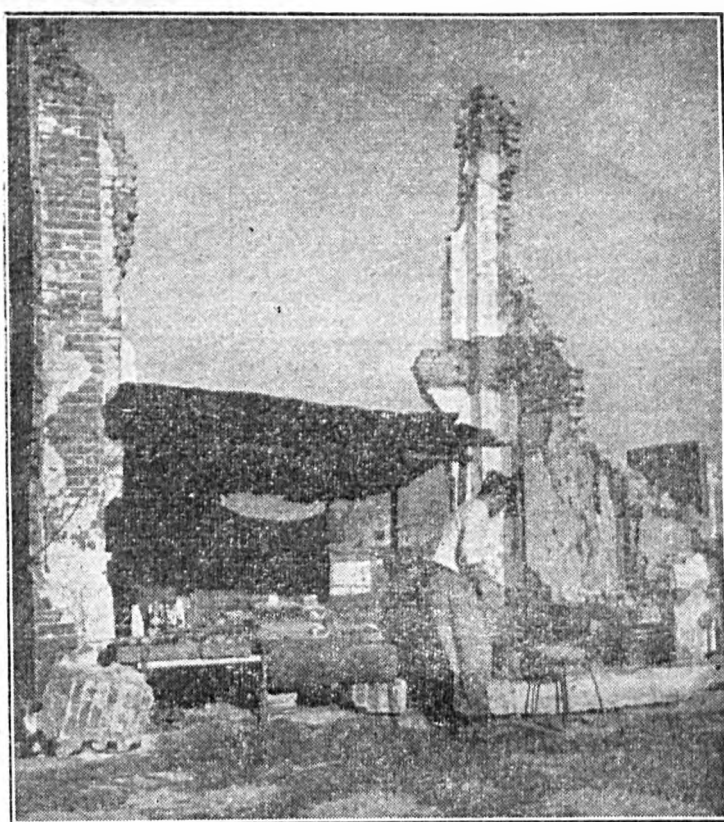
Archbishop Makarios, the Cypriot leader, has acknowledged a message of greeting and good wishes from the Welsh Nationalist Party.

The National Guild of Co-operators; The National Co-operative Men's Guild; and the "War on Want" Council became affiliated to the National Peace Council during the year under review in the Annual Report year under review in the Annual Report of the NPC published last week from 29 Great James St., W.C.1.

An Indonesian goodwill mission, led by Mr. An Mohammad Rum, left for Australia in October. Before his departure Mr. Rum said that Australia had been the first country to support the struggle for Indonesian independence.

AFTER LIBERATION

A post-war street scene in Korea—See "Citizens' Enquiry Enquiry into the United Nations," page six.



DUTCH AIR ACE MAKES RADIO PEACE APPEAL

From Hilda von Klenze

THE General Dutch Peace Action, an organisation which affiliates amongst others, the Dutch Section of the War Resisters' International, recently had the great good fortune of being given fifteen minutes on the air by the Dutch broadcasting system, "Liberal Protestant Radio."

As their speaker they chose Adriaan Viruly, the well-known airman and author of "Cain in the Cockpit" (Peace News, August 5, 1955).

After a short introduction in which he explained the aims of Peace Action, Viruly used the time at his disposal for a passionate plea against war and the weapons of war.

He stressed the fact that there is not only no defence against the immediate effects of the H-bomb in a small and densely populated country like Holland, but that no one can protect the peoples of the world against its slow and creeping contamination.

World organisations will aid colonial peoples

IMPORTANT outcome of a World Conference for Colonial Liberation held at Margate from November 5-7 was the setting-up of two world organisations that are to function in different spheres of activity.

One, a World Council for Colonial Liberation, will pursue political objectives concerned with the struggle against imperialism. The other, an International Council for Economic and Social Co-operation, will be concerned only with educational, economic and social projects and will seek consultative status as a non-governmental organisation with the Economic and Social Council of UN.

The World Council for Colonial Liberation will unite organisations working for the right of all peoples to self-government and freedom from external economic and military domination; aid for the underdeveloped countries; and the application of the Declaration of Human Rights to all peoples.

The International Council for Economic and Social Co-operation will encourage mutual assistance between affiliated organisations in the fields of education, economic and social development, community projects, trade unionism and co-operative production and distribution.

"Stop H-tests" appeal to UN

THANKS to the prompt action of its observer at the United Nations in New York, Mrs. Evelyn Peat, the British Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom sent the following cable to Sir Pierson Dixon, permanent British representative at the UN, during the debate on the effects of atomic radiation in the Political Committee on November 8:

"WILPF British Section begs you support Indonesian-Syrian amendment on nuclear tests. Kathleen Lonsdale, President."

The amendment in question (which unfortunately was heavily defeated) requested that pending a conclusive report on the effects of atomic radiation, all experimental explosions of all types of nuclear weapons should cease. Were the tests to be continued, asked Mr. Shukairy of Syria, until genetic effects showed up in future generations? It was the Assembly's duty, he said, at least to call for an armistice in "this undeclared war against mankind."

Besides keeping her Section fully informed of all latest developments at the UN, Mrs. Peat is able to make valuable on-the-spot contacts. She has had personal talks with Sir Pierson Dixon and other UK delegates, also with Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, Michael Scott, Krishna Menon and other notables about the Assembly. Regular briefings are held for representatives of non-governmental organisations.

Labour Youth demonstrate against call-up

MEMBERS of Wimbledon Labour Party League of Youth demonstrated recently outside a meeting arranged by the local Youth Employment Committee for those about to register for National Service.

The meeting was held in the local Air Training Corps centre, and the demonstrators paraded up and down carrying such slogans as "End Conscription Now," "Conscription is the Badge of the Slave—Keir Hardie," and "Kill Conscription, not the Conscript."

Most young people attending the meeting took the No Conscription Council's leaflet, "The H-bomb and the Conscript," which was being handed out.

Towards the end of the demonstration, which lasted half an hour, a local Labour Councillor joined in, carrying the Keir Hardie slogan.

ENDSLEIGH

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"What is Welsh Nationalism?" by H. W. J. Edwards 6d (x14)

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The tragedy of pigmentocracy

THAT the South African White population should apply their usual rejection to the conclusions Professor Herbert Tingsten has drawn in "The Problem of South Africa" (Gollancz, 12s. 6d.) on the ground that the first-hand observations upon which it is based were confined to a visit in the Winter of 1953-4 may be taken for granted. He has, however, a grasp of the facts of the situation based upon preparatory study that is unlikely to be matched by the members of the Strijdom Government, and in place of a life-time spent in South Africa he brings a capacity for an impartial assessment precisely because his interests are not involved. He is Editor-in-chief of the Swedish newspaper, "Dagens Nyheter."

This book sets out concisely all the essential facts of the South African situation. The dominant impression to be drawn from it seems to be the tragedy that besets the White population who (with the exception of a few dedicated, courageous and saintly souls) have become a damaged and corrupted people that would seem to be beyond redemption.

Summing up, Professor Tingsten quotes Lord Olivier, a colonial official of great experience, and Secretary for India in the first British Labour Government, who wrote some thirty years ago:

"South Africa occupies a special position in the British Commonwealth, in the Christian world, and, practically speaking, in the whole civilised world: it is a slave state."

Professor Tingsten remarks that the term "slave state" was, and still is, partly an exaggeration, but it has become nearer to being the truth today than when the words were written.

The picture the book leaves behind in the mind is that of the effect of the power of unintelligent and dehumanising religious conceptions as a means of adding ruthlessness to the egotism of mean and narrow men. The South African White population are constantly insistent that they are a vehicle of civilisation. Readers of this book will get an understanding of why South Africa, under the dominance of Afrikaner standards, can have nothing worth while to contribute to culture or civilisation.

They have created a state dominated by fear, and the corruption of fear is destroying the worth of the Whites even more than it damages the Blacks. No outcome seems to offer itself other than progress in degradation and final catastrophe.

J.A.S.

Saint on the March*

By DAVID HOGGETT

IT was with a deep sense of gratitude that I closed this engrossing and readable book. For though I have had the opportunity of participating in Bhoodan (Land gift) work and have felt an obligation to spread the gospel, only a writer of Hallam Tennyson's calibre could give this penetrating and accurate picture of Vinoba Bhavé and the historically unique movement that he has started.

The author first saw Vinoba—or rather his back—in 1946, but was unimpressed by this "holy man" who had apparently retired from the world into a spiritual shell. He was not alone in thus underestimating Gandhi's foremost disciple: perhaps only Gandhi himself was fully aware of the hidden strength in this man, to whom he referred as his superior in the realm of the spirit.

If the personality of Vinoba Bhavé (pronounced "Bhar-vay" rather than "Bar-vay") remains obscure it is no fault of the author, but simply because the man himself has succeeded so well in his ideal of reducing himself to zero, the better to reflect the spirit of God working through him. Nevertheless, when we read the story of Bhoodan, and of the change of heart in so many hard-boiled landlords, we begin through these effects to grasp something of the man who caused them.

The author aptly describes the difference between Vinoba and Gandhi by comparing the latter to a banyan tree, which spreads with infinite complexity into every field, depending on innumerable close contacts with the soil for its continued life—and the former to a lodestar, clear and simple, impersonally pointing the way.

Here is described the bewilderment and loss of direction amongst Gandhian workers that followed the assassination of their "Father," and how Vinoba was reluctantly pushed into the limelight. The leadership he gives, however, is not intensely personal like Gandhi's, and there should not arise the same confusion on his death. He has pointed the way, and the reins may be expected to be taken up by another—probably Jaiprakash Narayan, the

ex-Socialist leader. (For a history of Bhoodan too little attention is given by the author to Narayan, other than the offer of his life to the movement at Bodh Gaya, but then the main purpose of the book is to present Vinoba to the world.)

A detailed description is given of the occasion of the very first gift of land in Pochampalli (the first time, I believe, that the event has been fully reported), and of the subsequent development, as Vinoba walks to Delhi.

Hallam Tennyson goes on to tell us of his own experiences with Vinoba's party, as they walk from village to village, and does not hesitate to speak frankly of the discomfort, the shortcomings of workers, the large proportion of cranks who tag along, and of the many little irritations which, as I know only too well, can loom so large and infuriatingly when one is in the thick of it.

The historic Bodh Gaya conference is fully dealt with in several chapters, and also an account of a visit to Mangroth, the first village to donate its entire land (the revolutionary development which since publication of this book has been given dramatic impetus in the villages of Orissa). As the author points out, this abandoning of private property is communism, but with a little "c," the communism of the early Christians.

It is not only an accurate picture of Bhoodan and its founder that the author has given us. The many little scenes and incidents—in city and village, railway carriage and bullock cart—leave an impression of India that is as true as any I have come across. SAINT ON THE MARCH is indeed essential reading for all concerned with the creation of a peaceful society.

*By Hallam Tennyson. Gollancz, 13s. 6d.

A Nativity Play

THE OTHER KING, A Nativity Play in two Scenes, by L. Temple Jarvis (Epworth Press, 1s. 3d.). To write a play about a Biblical incident, and to make it fresh and interesting without departing from fact and tradition is a very difficult task. The author of this play (who is Chairman of the Methodist Peace Fellowship) has done it, to some extent at least, by making his hero and heroine two minor characters in the service of the Herodian Royal Family, and showing the effect upon their lives of the arrival of the Other King. Better than the average short nativity play.

addition to the "Six Great" series. The growth of scientific ideas is clearly traced and the fortitude of people who have given us this knowledge surely gives us confidence to believe that "what mankind has had the ability to bring forth, mankind will also have the courage to control."

Not many history books have come my way this autumn, but A BOOK OF KINGS AND QUEENS (Cassell, 7s. 6d.), by Arthur L. Hayward, tells of the eventful lives of various monarchs from Cleopatra to Queen Victoria, and is well worth reading.

TWELVE TO FOURTEEN

Twelves to 14s, with their many interests, will like THE YOUNG COLLECTOR'S BOOK, introduced by James Laver (Burke, 7s. 6d.). No less than 14 experts give information about different kinds of collecting (from cigarette cards to porcelain), and drawings and photographs help considerably.

There are many good novels for this age group. THE LAND THE RAVENS FOUND, by Naomi Mitchison (Collins, 8s. 6d.) is first-class, with a wonderful atmosphere of Viking life. Anlaf lives with his family in Scotland, but is later forced to build a ship and sail away from his enemies to Iceland. How the community settles down with its problems of nationality and master and servants is thrillingly told.

Two good books about family adventures are THE FAMILY AT DOWBIGGINS, by Elfrida Vipont (Lutterworth, 8s. 6d.), and TANN'S BOARDS, by Kitty Barne (Dent, 10s. 6d.).

The Dowbiggin family has to take boarders in order to stay in their dear north-country house, and the account of the paying guests is good fun.

The Kitty Barne book is about clever, lively children and their adventures in singing, violin-playing, and acting.

A beautiful book about a choir school, A SWARM IN MAY, by William Mayne (OUP, 10s. 6d.), is most charmingly illustrated by C. Walter Hodges. Choirboys, with their knowledge of choir routine and church buildings, will enjoy this—especially, I feel, grown-up choirboys!

THE TREASURE RIDERS, by Marjorie E. Proctor (Blandford Press, 7s. 6d.), is about a riding family in search of family inheritance. A German boy and a French boy gradually lose their mistrust for each other and become friends.

NINE TO TWELVE

All children of nine to 12 will enjoy at least one of the three new Puffins (Penguin Books, 2s. 6d. each). MELISSA ANN, by Ethel Parton, is a charming American story of the 1820s, and any girl who likes "The Wide, Wide World" would like the unhurried detail of this book.

Both boys and girls will like THE HEIR OF CHARLECOTE, by Mark Dallow, for this is about a boy who played in Shakespeare's company before Queen Elizabeth. BOY OF THE INDIAN FRONTIER, by Wray Hunt, is a good boys' story which some girls will like, too.

★ ON PAGE SEVEN

A third policy for Africa

By VICTOR SALDJI

New Hope in Africa, by J. H. Oldham. Longmans 7s. 6d.

DR. OLDHAM, for more than thirty years an acknowledged authority on African affairs, has made a most challenging presentation of a movement started in Africa in 1949 by a group of people who seek to put a vision into reality and remove the fears that embitter relationships in Africa.

In order to keep their task within manageable proportions they restricted their field to those African territories situated mainly within the tropic of Capricorn, and thus the Capricorn Africa Society was born. It goes without saying, however, that the fundamental principles of the Society are applicable beyond the bounds of the Limpopo and the Sahara to the whole of Africa and the world itself.

The dynamic of this movement is the conviction that "all men, despite their varying talents, are born equal in dignity before God and have a common duty to one another."

White domination and exclusive African nationalism are both uncompromisingly rejected not only on the grounds that they are morally wrong, and practically unrealistic, but also on the grounds of "a confident belief that there is a third policy, that of creating an inter-racial integrated society in which the different races co-operate without regard to colour or creed, for the common material and spiritual enrichment of all."

An uneasy feeling may come over many friends of Africa on reading that the aim of CAS is to establish "a common African patriotism." To those to whom the very word "patriotism" means bugle calls and bayonets this may be a difficult hurdle to clear.

But when seen as a loyalty that overcomes differences of race and creed it takes on a new meaning.

The love and loyalty that people feel for the family group, groups of family groups, and so on in ever widening circles, is only perverted when it stops short at some national geographical boundary and is from then onwards against the rest of the human community.

Such a narrowing of outlook would be incompatible with the patriotism envisaged which can only logically stop at a common world patriotism that knows no frontiers.

The barrier of racism is well dealt with in the third chapter but, "colour feeling in reverse" also comes in for severe censure. A favourably prejudiced view of all Africans is as unreasonable as an unfavourably prejudiced outlook.

Problems discussed cover representation and the franchise, education, the position of women in African society and the relationship of the British government to the Capricorn territories: Kenya, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Tanganyika and Uganda.

The resources of Capricorn Africa are vast and the author poses the question of how best they can be utilised for the good of all.

Here CAS is in agreement with the East African Royal Commission Report which was published very shortly before "New Hope in Africa" went to the printer.

The reservation of land on a racial basis is seen for what it is—indefensible. Equal opportunity and security of tenure are recognised as prime essentials but there are dangers inherent in the individualisation of land ownership that must be noted.

In this respect the views of Mbiyu Koinange* and Mbonu Ojike† on the land question are earnestly pressed upon the attention of Dr. Oldham and the CAS.

Dr. Oldham's challenge is not to be ignored: "The Capricorn Africa Society, having joined battle, cannot afford to fail. It needs every support that can be given to it. If it is following a wrong path, let it be shown the right one. Where it is lacking in insight, let the lack be made good. But let no one think that he can stand aside."

*"The People of Kenya Speak for Themselves," by Mbiyu Koinange, KAU Delegation, (2s., from author, 7 Winchester Rd., N.W.3.)
†"My Africa" by Mbonu Ojike, Deputy Leader of Eastern Nigeria. Blandford Press, 10s. 6d. Both reviewed May 6, 1955.

EPWORTH BOOKS

HENRY CARTER, C.B.E.

By E. Clifford Urwin, M.A., B.D.

The man who is remembered in these pages was one who strode through his generation, and played his part in the movements of his time with almost titanic energy. As champion of refugees during and after the second World war he became internationally respected.

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25-35, City Road, London, E.C.1.

CHILDREN'S BOOKS—FOR ALL AGES

By Doris Canter

cut and the spelling and punctuation have been modernised.

Bertrand Russell says of Lancelot Hogben's MAN MUST MEASURE (Rathbone Books, 15s.): "I cannot too highly recommend this masterpiece of simplification without falsification." To the many children who get "bogged down" in sums, this book will come as a revelation and their small mathematical efforts will fall into their right place. Every conceivable picture, plan, and diagram is used to show "measuring" throughout the ages and throughout the world. Do try to see this book.

FOURTEEN PLUS

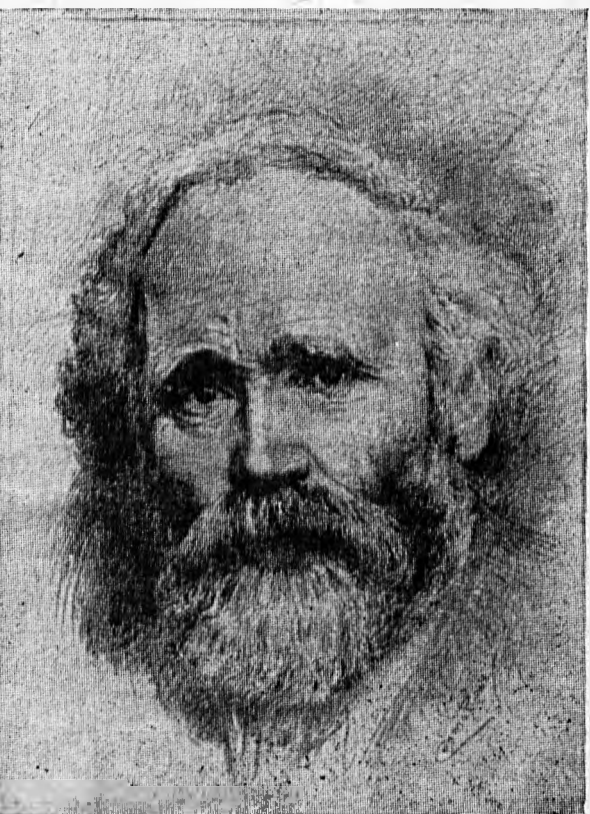
Now for the books which appeal to different age groups. CATHERINE OF CORNERS, by Irene Byers, will be enjoyed by the over-14s. As in "Tim of Tamberly Forest," the point-of-view of the adolescent trying to start on the right path is well understood. Catherine, injured in a street accident, and so debarred from her intended vocation, finds great happiness and gives it, too, by organising a children's art class in an overcrowded neighbourhood. This is published by Max Parrish and costs 8s. 6d. Boys will enjoy LUMBERJACK, by Stephen W. Meader (Richard Bell, 9s. 6d.). This is a story of tough men, snow-drifts, and wild animals.

SIX GREAT SCIENTISTS, by J. G. Crowther (Hamish Hamilton, 10s. 6d.) is a welcome

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BOOK REVIEWS

Means and Ends

By LESLIE HANNA

A WAR novel replete with the excitement, the tenseness, of spying and counter espionage is not the usual type to recommend to readers of Peace News. But THE TRUE DECEIVERS, by Hans Rosenhaupt, himself a wartime interrogator in the US Army Intelligence Service, will appeal to everyone who opposes war in all its aspects. It has its full measure of excitement, of important secrets wormed out of reluctant Nazi agents. But it is far more than a mere war novel of spying and intelligence work. THE TRUE DECEIVERS could be called a psychological novel. It is deeply introspective. The central character, an American intelligence officer of German origin, shows an unusual awareness of the deeper issues involved in this type of war work. He is no mere automaton, carrying out orders and performing a "patriotic" duty. He questions his motives, probes the question of means and ends, and asks himself whether any man is justified in deceiving and lying for ends which are "good." And what is the ultimate effect on the deceiver himself?

Here is a book to stimulate thought. It would be appropriate for those people who admit the beastliness of war but who try to convince themselves that "the end justifies the means."

It poses its problems for those who oppose participation of any kind in a war, no matter how "good" the purpose for which it is ostensibly fought. "Men get tired of peace," one of the characters exclaims. Do they? Before dismissing this lightly, it might be as well to examine the import of such an opinion. For there is a certain basis of truth in the position that men are restless creatures and many of them get bored with a humdrum existence.

That is one of the problems of human nature which pacifists need to bear in mind when condemning war. There is a remedy, of course, but there is no short cut towards applying it. Peace must be made "exciting." And it can—if our thinking is not cast in a negative mould but channelled into a constructive direction for a better life for all.

THE TRUE DECEIVERS, published by Gollancz, 12s. 6d., shows all the "glamour" of espionage work. But as we read on into the novel, the glitter begins to wear off the gingerbread. It can be recommended to those, especially the young, who may be enamoured of intelligence work. It will also prove stimulating to those who see through the make-believe and open up fresh avenues of thought in our approach to the psychological problems involved in outlawing war.

The study of history

Man on his Past, The Study of the History of Historical Scholarship, by Herbert Butterfield. Cambridge University Press, 22s. 6d.

THE scope of this book is narrower than its title suggests. It is mainly concerned with the transformation of historical scholarship in the nineteenth century, and the part played in this by Ranke and Acton.

Perhaps the most interesting theme touched by Professor Butterfield is the relationship between technical history—history that is valid for Catholic and Protestant, Whig and Tory alike—and the beliefs and preoccupations of the technical historian himself.

The book concludes with two chapters which discuss the development of historical research on the origins of the Seven Years War and of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

G.C.

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TWO INDIAN NOVELS

Waiting for the Mahatma, by R. K. Narayan. Methuen & Co. Ltd., 12s. 6d. To Whom She Will, by R. Prawer Jhabvala. Allen & Unwin, 15s.

HERE are two completely delightful Indian novels, one, WAITING FOR THE MAHATMA, by an Indian novelist of some repute, the other, TO WHOM SHE WILL, is apparently a first novel. Both are gently ironic.

Mr. Narayan writes of a young man, Sriram, who, during the war, is drawn into the inner circle around Gandhi for love of a girl who shakes a collecting box at him. He joins the huge crowd waiting for the Mahatma on the banks of the river in the hope of seeing her again. As a result of attending the meeting he becomes part of the Gandhi entourage, wears Khadi, learns to spin, goes about the country painting "Quit India" on walls, and, generally, does all that is required of him, but all for the love of the girl rather than for Mother India.

There are some thumbnail pictures of the Mahatma interwoven with the story of Sriram and his adventures which give the impression of having been etched from the life.

Sriram becomes involved with a terrorist and is sent to prison. He is released into an independent India—one of the prison warders tells him, "Mahatma Gandhi is becoming the Emperor of India"—and seeks out his terrorist colleague, who has escaped prison, since he always had Sriram do the dirty work, he himself merely giving the orders.

He shows Sriram hundreds of photographs of processions, crowds, meetings—a romanticised documentary of the Independence movement. Sriram is not unnaturally both irritated and bored, feeling that he didn't go about "inscribing 'Quit' and overturning trains just to provide a photographer with material for his album."

The photographer, however, gives him news of the girl and even writes a letter for him to her—a very fine romantic letter such as the simple Sriram could never have concocted. He finds the girl again in New Delhi and they go together to Gandhi for his blessing on their wedding—since the girl won't marry without it. Gandhi gives it and says, moreover, that he will be their "priest," but then later has a sudden feeling that he may not after all be able to attend. He then goes off to a prayer meeting that fatal last prayer meeting. The book ends with the shots.

Of not many novels can it be said that one is sorry to finish reading it, but this is one for this present reviewer. It is a book with a very special quality of gentle ironic humour, and, one feels, an intimate knowledge of the India of the period.

Miss Jhabvala's novel, TO WHOM SHE WILL, has a similar quality of gentle humour. It is the story of what in England would be described as a middle-class young woman in love with a proletarian young man. The young woman is of an independent turn of mind and firmly over-

HENRY CARTER: PRACTICAL IDEALIST

Henry Carter, CBE: A Memoir, by E. C. Urwin. Epworth Press, 8s. 6d.

ALL who knew Henry Carter will be glad to have this memoir of his life and activities. His activities, as the memoir shows, fell into three main categories—his service as a Methodist minister, his devotion to the Temperance cause, and his concern with international affairs, particularly his indefatigable labours on behalf of refugees.

Two impressions chiefly emerge from this portraiture. Though Henry Carter was ardently dedicated to these various causes he was no impractical idealist. Whatever work he took up he mastered its details and problems so efficiently that he was recognised in high quarters as an expert. He was a member of the Royal Commission on the Licensing Laws, he was chairman of the Christian Council for Refugees, to quote a few of the public offices

which he held. The other impression one derives is that, although his was a stern puritan standpoint, he was no bigot or fanatic. Indeed, he was brought into conflict with some of his more rigid Methodist friends over such an issue as the Sunday opening of cinemas.

No mention is made in these pages of his chairmanship of the National Peace Council, and therefore it is perhaps permissible to recall here his peculiar gifts in that capacity. Henry Carter was the ideal chairman. He could guide a meeting through difficult channels, give all sides a fair hearing, and yet without exercising autocratic control lead it to a positive decision. He was a keen pacifist, but he was never intolerant of those whose convictions differed from his own.

Altogether a remarkable personality who fully deserves the tributes paid to him in Mr. Urwin's record. KENNETH INGRAM.

We declare war on Vivisection

- ★ In fact, we declared it long ago. It is a relentless war; and it is fought all over the country, week in and week out, in the streets and squares (van campaigns, open-air meetings), under cover (shop campaigns, meetings, publicity stalls in markets), in the press (letters, advertisements), on the hoardings (posters), and by every other legal means available. It is a war to end one of the most cruel, ruthless and immoral practices of our day.
- ★ Every year in Britain there are over 2,000,000 experiments on living animals "calculated to inflict pain". Can good come out of evil? And if it could, is an evil means to a good end thereby justified? We believe vivisection to be fundamentally unsound from a scientific point of view; but far more important is the fact that this organised infliction of suffering is unethical.
- ★ Our fight will go on until it is won. Meanwhile, we need all the help we can get—all the help that you, who read this, can give. Please write today for information to—

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Scientists' dilemma

Dr. BRONOWSKI ON THE DUTY OF HERESY

Mr. Gordon Dean, late Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission has stated that the fact that reactors being built in America were still on the secret list had seriously handicapped American business in its competition with English business for world reactor markets.

Commenting on this at the recent conference of the International Liaison Committee of Organisations for Peace at Oosterbeek, Dr. J. Bronowski, noted scientist and Director of the central research establishment of the National Coal Board, stated "God moves in a mysterious way, and it may be that science will be liberated by this anxiety to sell atomic power."

His speech has now been published by the National Peace Committee under the title "The Dilemma of the Scientist," Price 9d.

"THERE is one thing above all others that the scientist has a duty to teach to the public and to governments: it is the duty of heresy," said Dr. Bronowski. "The sense of intellectual heresy is the life blood of our civilisation."

While defending the scientist against the hatred of a public which sought to make him the scapegoat for its own shortcomings—a hatred which might well force him to side always with established authority—he did not spare that minority of scientists who have acquiesced in the abuse of science.

"We have contrived weapons and policies with our public conscience which each of us individually would never have undertaken with his private conscience. Men are only murderers in large groups. They do not individually go out and strangle their neighbour. And scientists are only murderers in large groups—collectively. For scientists are very ordinary human beings."

To say that the scientist ought not to have invented this, or disclosed that secret "was to ask the scientist to do the job for which the public had elected 630 Members of Parliament, he continued. The individual scientist was not the keeper of the public conscience.

Dr FUCHS

Only one man had dared to shoulder public responsibility in such a way, and that was Dr. Fuchs. Dr. Fuchs did what the public was today asking of every scientist: he had decided what to do with a scientific invention.

Dr. Bronowski continued:

"What then is he the keeper of? He is the keeper of his own private conscience. He has the right to act individually as a conscientious objector. Indeed I believe that he has the duty to act as a conscientious objector. I would like to repeat this point. He has a business to settle with his own conscience: the serious business whether he personally will engage in forms of research of which he does not morally approve."

Outlining what he considered to be the duties of the scientist, the public and the governments, Dr. Bronowski said:

"In all countries the serious threat to scientists who have once touched the fringe of secret subjects is, that they are caught in something from which they can never escape again. They do not get a passport in case somebody captures them. They cannot get a job because if they do not want to do this, then they are too dangerous or awkward to be trusted with anything else. . . . This is the duty which citizens owe to scientists, to insist that governments shall make it possible for scientists to be conscientious objectors if they wish."

It was the responsibility of the public to make the decisions on which the future depended, and to make them themselves, he argued. It was the duty of the scientist to inform the public, and so create a public opinion for right policies: this he could only do by sharing his scientific knowledge.

INDISCREET

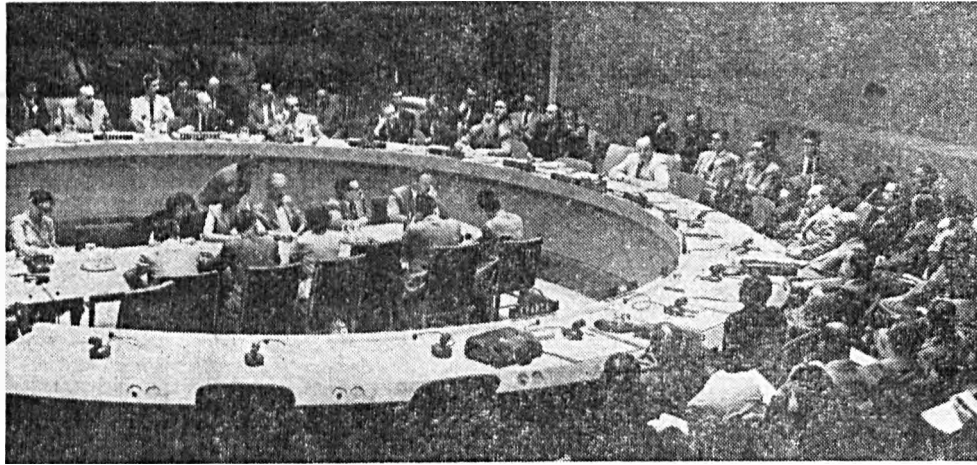
Lastly he turned to the duty of the government—which was to allow scientists to speak freely on subjects of world importance. On his own experience in overcoming the secrecy surrounding atomic projects, he commented: "I read what the great indiscreet Senator said to the small indiscreet reporters, and I know that nine statements are nonsense and one statement is accurate. Then I quote the one that is accurate, but not as my opinion."

The great sin of the public in his view had been acquiescence in this secrecy, a secrecy which could lead to the greatest of all disasters, the disaster of state intolerance:

"The scientist must preserve the tradition of quarrelling, of questioning, and of dissent on which science (and I believe all post-renaissance civilisation) has been built. My message today, in this and in all else, is the scientist's duty to speak. Let us not look askance at any ally in the drive against silence."

A MILESTONE IN HISTORY is the title of the latest of the Ruth Fry pamphlets (from 48 Clarendon Rd., W.11, 2d.). The author contends that since the first Geneva conference there has been a growing realisation that the enemy is not this or that country, but war itself, and that therefore the state described by Professor Einstein as "peace secured through a supernatural organisation" is nearer to us today than ever before.

THE CITIZENS' ENQUIRY INTO THE UNITED NATIONS



Throughout Britain peace groups are answering "The Citizens' Enquiry into the United Nations," a valuable questionnaire prepared by the United Nations Association.

The results of this national enquiry—aimed at the stimulation of discussion on problems connected with the United Nations and the registering of public opinion on such issues as the H-bomb, Disarmament, Human Rights, and the War on Want—are to be published.

A copy of the questionnaire and of the explanatory pamphlet can be obtained for 6d. from UNA, 25 Charles St., London, W.1. Questionnaires must be returned to that address not later than December 12, 1955.

Below, Margaret L. Brooks reports some of the conclusions reached by Bristol Central Peace Pledge Union group after discussion:

THERE was an unqualified and unanimous "No!" to the proposition that Britain should use the hydrogen bomb in any circumstances.

It was emphasised that the whole idea of "Allies" would become—should become—meaningless progressively as the United Nations came to maturity and succeeded in embracing all nations in brotherhood. This was surely the aim of the United Nations and must not be lost sight of.

The second question dealt exclusively with disarmament, the Bristol group being completely desirous that Britain should disarm now, whether or not other nations took this step.

The disarmament of all nations must be the ultimate aim, and this would obviate the second part of the query for, if all nations were working towards this there would be no necessity to impose "international inspection and control of all arms," with all the dangers that that implied.

A FIRST STEP

But, whilst the disarmament of Britain was a first step towards peace, it was agreed that radical changes would have to be made in our economic system to ensure the smooth absorption of all people engaged in the manufacture of arms for their livelihood into enterprises of a constructive nature.

There was no shortage of suggestions as to what might be done with the labour so released!

The third question—one that is always used to arouse chivalry and a sense of fair play—whether Britain should go to war to help another country which has been attacked, or to support the United Nations in this, was received as an out-dated demand.

With the sufferings of the people of Korea in mind and all that "liberation" had meant to that country, it was felt that in no circumstances should Britain take this sort of

"help" to any people. No realist could support such a notion after Korea.

The fourth—whether Britain should be prepared to contribute its share to a United Nations force, provided that great national forces were given up—was found to be a little ambiguous. If national forces no longer existed, there could be no occasion for the intervention of UN forces. And, if national armies were still maintained, the UN would be in conflict with those national forces. In neither case, it was determined, could United Nations forces make a contribution to peace.

The second part of the questions was concerned with "Human Rights." It was agreed that all men, irrespective of race or creed, should have equal rights, and that this should be accepted universally even before the attainment of any specified educational or social standards.

That one should try to influence one's own Government to put this into practice in territories over which it exercises authority, was regarded as vital.

Under "Better Standards of Life," it was deplored that Britain devotes an entirely inadequate proportion of its resources towards helping other countries to raise their standards of life. How should this be done? It was felt that the best way to secure this was to accept a lower standard of living ourselves.

Whether the United Nations had justified its existence over the first ten years? And the answer—again a qualification—is that in the social, educational, and technical fields, yes, abundantly!

INFLUENCE

But on the political side, rivalry between the great Powers and the determination of each to pursue its own ends was stultifying the United Nations and bringing it into contempt.

Did we believe that the policy of our Government could be influenced by the ordinary man? Most assuredly yes. The very existence of such little groups of thinking citizens—all ordinary men and women—as those belonging to the Peace Pledge Union and other pacifist bodies, up and down the country, was an affirmation of the positive opportunities that still existed for the ordinary man.

Governments should be made aware that the ordinary people wanted to see the United Nations Organisation used for the common good of all men everywhere.

It was the job of the man-in-the-street to use his voice in proclaiming that the selfish interests of States should be sublimated to the most urgent of all needs—the establishment of world peace.

Revising the UN Charter

WE all long and pray for massive disarmament, as the all-essential pre-requisite of a peaceful and warless world.

At the same time we are beginning to recognise that the United Nations as at present constituted is no fit body to back-up an inspectorate, which (as was pointed out months ago by the Manchester Guardian) will of necessity be a World Government.

There must be an effective World Federal Parliament behind so mighty an Executive. Perhaps this may be created by the adding of a popularly elected House, possibly on the basis of one member per five million of the population of constituent nations, to the General Assembly, which would become the Upper House, representing national governments.

But how is the Charter to be amended in order to make these things possible, and to prevent the unarmed World Inspectorate, commissioned to conduct the process of disarmament, from becoming an irresponsible World Power?

These things should be actively discussed, by an informed public mind, all over the world. A little booklet helping towards that discussion is *Studies in Charter Revision*, a series of papers, price 1s. 6d., from Room 10, 20 Buckingham St., London, W.C.2. J.E.H.

Study papers on East-West Relations

Christianity and Communism, Study Papers prepared by the East-West Relations Committee of the Society of Friends. Obtainable as a set of 7 for 1s. 9d. or singly at 4d. a paper post-free from Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1.

ONCE again we are all in debt to the Society of Friends—this time for their provision of seven study papers on Christianity and Communism, which are serious, well-written and challenging.

Taken in sequence they could form the basis of useful group discussion, while all the papers except the second, which is devoted to a brief statement of the Quaker interpretation of Christianity, and the fourth, which is the first half of two papers on "The Individual and the Community," could stand by themselves.

By far the most valuable part of this publication is the evidence that it provides of how far and along what routes Communists and Christians need to go if they are to meet one another in charity. It touches subtly and deftly on the sore point which Maritain mentioned in his "True Humanism," namely the Communist feeling of "resentment against those who have failed to realise the truth of which they are the bearers, a resentment which has reacted against the truth itself."

CONFLICT

No attempt is made to disguise the fundamental conflict between true Communism and true Christianity, but most salutary reminders are given of the confusion arising when the perversions of their respective truths run across each other's tracks. The following passage from Paper Three on "Communist Materialism and Christian Materialism" probes deeply:

"The fact is there is little to choose between 'East' and 'West' in this respect. It has been observed that a refrigerator in every home is equally the aim of the United States and the Soviet Union; the only difference is that the United States has already virtually reached the goal. But the Western craving for material security whether it is the plenty envisaged by the capitalist or the welfare state envisaged by the socialist, seems if anything, a little more materialistic than the Communist readiness to forego comforts today for an earthly paradise tomorrow."

Paper Five offers an excellent analysis of the relationship between the individual and the community, showing how there is a "spectrum" of behaviour patterns ranging from pronounced individuality at one end to pronounced collectivism at the other—Communism theory emphasising the latter and Western Democratic theory the former. The danger in this situation is then most subtly exposed:

"What is to be regretted is the exploitation of these differences of sociological behaviour in the interests of the preservation of internal power; in order to divert attention from the part of the spectrum which is a challenge, because it is not at the far end, but only a few degrees away, leadership tends either to conceal or to suppress awkward sociological tendencies based on the realities of human nature (the Communist trick) or to label the far end of the spectrum as fatally immoral (the capitalist democratic trick)."

TENSION

Towards the end of this paper the crucial point is quietly made:

"Just as goodness is no quality once achieved, but a continuously emerging quality as evil is faced and rejected, so the fruitful relationship between persons and the societies of which they are members is not a static thing but something which emerges in the interplay of challenge and restraint, both of which come from God, the one leading to new creation, the other to the preservation of hardly won insights. Because godliness is a tension between these two poles, and not a simple progression, it is an eternal quality, as real for one age as another, always realisable, always elusive. Persons grow in stature as they embrace this tension, and gain freedom as they learn to play sensitively within the spectrum."

Study Papers Six and Seven, devoted to "Christianity and Revolutionary Change" and "Christianity and Planning" complete a satisfying and noteworthy series.

JAMES L. HENDERSON.

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A realistic way to end war

● FROM PAGE ONE

"We were told we must dictate to Russia. The Labour Party, foolishly, supported by the equally foolish Tories, spent £6,000,000,000 to negotiate from strength. Have we negotiated from strength at Geneva? It looks as though Molotov hasn't accepted unconditional surrender. Modern statesmen can't risk H-bomb war, and Molotov can call the bluff to bomb Russia out of Germany.

"In 1951, when I had to fight the Front Bench of the Labour Party, Shinwell and others said that by 1954 we could negotiate from strength.

"But Russia imitated our piling of arms. "How can we say time is on our side? Can we dictate to Russia in 1960 or 1970? Strauss, the head of the US Atomic Commission, said that between 1950-1960 there would be twice as many Russian scientific and technical students as American.

"As long as you pursue a policy of raising German armies to fight Russia and China, you're endangering civilisation.

"Whom did we fight two world wars against? Yet we now have to accept them as allies!

"In the modern world there is no alternative but world war or pacifism. Montgomery and the War Office did not face facts. Force cannot save the people of this country.

Richard Macaulay, of the History Department, supported the motion. He said we must not forget either to defend the weak or ourselves. (Here a member interjected: "All wars have been fought on that basis.") Non-violent resistance against aggressors was difficult. What could Gandhi have done against Tories or totalitarians?

Harvey Cohen, of the Faculty of Law, opposed the motion. "Where," he asked, "is the self-defence in destroying Moscow and burning the peoples of Asia?"

UNREALISTIC CIVIL DEFENCE

"War did not achieve its purpose. The Great World War to end war produced Hitler. The second world war to end fear and totalitarianism led to conscription and the greatest fear of the H-bomb. Petrol bombs turned cities into torture chambers. Ten H-bombs could destroy life in Britain.

"Nato and Seato stimulated war. Peace has been the 'justification' of every arms race, and each has led to war."

Pacifism was a rational, realistic way to prevent holocausts. Firstly, it renounced wars and killing other human beings. Secondly, it strove to achieve freedom from want, with constructive help for the two-thirds of the world subjected to hunger, disease, and misery.

A nation united in renouncing war could make rule by an invader impossible. Modern war was mass suicide, as disastrous to victors as to vanquished, and might lead to the extinction of the human species.

Mrs. Eleanor Balch, speaking from the floor, said that Korea was destroyed because we helped them with force. War orphans, devastation, and poverty had resulted there. During World War II the Danes had non-violently and successfully resisted attempts to indoctrinate their children with Nazi ideas.

Emrys Hughes, summing up, said that the British governments of 1926-1939 had all voted big budgets for the army, navy, and air force. The most unrealistic department today was the War Office. "If London can be wiped out in three minutes, how can Civil Defence be realism?"

"I believe in voting even against the Labour Party. To abstain on any great issue is cowardly."

Peter Kirk, replying, said we had been

Dr. Soper

● FROM PAGE ONE

worked, he went as a doctor to China, leaving there only three years ago.

The Rev. Douglas Wollen spoke of the famous conference of pacifists and non-pacifists called by the Rev. Henry Carter, to draw up a statement on peace and war, which had served Methodism well for the last 20 years.

"We succeeded in winning one of the other side over," he said, "so that the pacifist statement was signed by 13 members whilst the other side could only muster 11! We were often told that Christianity is a bigger thing than pacifism, but I always wanted to add that non-pacifist Christianity is a lesser thing than the whole faith of the New Testament."

Tributes were paid to Dr. Donald Soper, "that man of complete Christian integrity." He was presented with a long-playing record of Handel's "Music written for the Royal Fireworks," a choice felt to be particularly appropriate as the meeting was held on Guy Fawkes' Day.

Replying, Dr. Soper testified to the present encouragement which the Fellowship gave him, and said it was the first President of the MPF, Henry Carter, who first brought him to an intellectually definite pacifist position.

The way ahead

"It is not wise to make a pacifist witness in every sermon," he said, "but it is essential that our people should know where we stand and have an opportunity of hearing a statement of our case."

He insisted that any evangelism that is to bear lasting fruit must carry certain definite ethical implications.

Wesley related the evangel to ethical principles. On certain matters, like smuggling, the early Methodist knew exactly what was expected of him. Methodists at the turn of the century had a moral earnestness about drink and gambling which gave point to their witness.

"To what ethical implication would we relate our message," asked Dr. Soper. "Keenly though I feel about drinking and gambling, the central issue for me is pacifism."

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prepared for war ever since 1945 because there has been no pacifist climate.

"We all want disarmament, but we have all got to re-arm first. I doubt if we shall have it in the lifetime of any present tonight."

TRAFFIC IN ARMS

After two generations of struggle by the Left in every capitalist country for abolition of the war-breeding munitions business, is the stronghold of world socialism still so weak that it couldn't afford to announce, "The Soviet Union stands ready to trade with any and every country but not in the tools of war?" Is the sale of munitions to dictators, and to countries which need peace but drift toward war, any more honorable and decent a trade just because Skoda is now owned by the Czechoslovak Republic? We believe the Soviet Union wants peace. Why, then, should it play with fire in the highly inflammable Middle East? ...

—I. F. Stone's Weekly.

Farewell to China Theatre

THE prospect of eighty Chinese, few speaking English, descending upon a London Hotel for three weeks, filled the staff with apprehension. After the experience of catering for the Classical Theatre of China for a week without difficulties the manageress said, "Tell your friends that we have never had more considerate and appreciative guests."

When tickets were no longer obtainable at the Box Office, everyone who worked regularly at the hotel was given one. Days later they were still trying to identify "The Monkey King," "The Ancient Boatman," "The Doomed Ruler's Favourite."

Dr. Horace Joles truly expressed a general feeling when he said, at the farewell party on Nov. 12, that England's dull November had been brightened; warmed by the brilliance, colour and humour of their performances, so skilfully and delicately acted before English audiences which appreciated high achievements of dramatic art.

He could remember no national group who had ever contributed so much to international friendship and understanding.

The Bomb, Challenge and Answer

THE Parliamentary Association for World Government arranged a world scientists' conference last August, during which THE BOMB, CHALLENGE AND ANSWER, was published (Batsford, 25s.) with contributions from Prof. A. Haddow, Bertrand Russell, Lord Beveridge, Henry Osborne and Gilbert McAllister (editor).

At a recent meeting in the Central Hall, Westminster, the authors expounded their views under the Chairmanship of Mr. Clement Davies, President of the Association, to an audience which included a lunatic fringe of Fascist-inspired hecklers and, in its later and livelier moments, several members of the police force.

Bertrand Russell, wearing his 82 years lightly and never at a loss in spite of being several times shouted down, turned the occasion into a living example of the necessity for world government and the rule of law.

"These are the kind of people," he said, "who would plunge humanity into a third world war."

Others who might do so, it seemed, were the US militarists who were ordering intensified investigations into chemical, bacteriological and radiological weapons "to the fullest extent that the human mind can encompass."

"There is no way of escaping the destructive ingenuity of mankind," he said, "except

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"to what use is the USA to put the enormous resources and productive power that will be released" (as a result of any disarmament agreement)? Surely such energy could be diverted to providing aid for underdeveloped areas—tractors and turbines could be produced on the same assembly lines that are at present turning out tanks, torpedoes, etc. Our task is to ensure that aid-schemes do in fact replace arms-plans. We in the West have a prime responsibility in this sphere, for it is the West that possesses colonies and protectorates. —Ron Montague, Leyton.

● As you are doubtless aware, the Kabaka, in recognition of all the Africa Bureau had done for him during his exile, and of the important part it has played in making possible his reinstatement, invited the entire full-time staff of the Bureau (which consists of the Rev. Michael Scott, Director; Miss Benson, Secretary; Miss Jane Symonds, Assistant Secretary) together with Lord Hemmingford, its Chairman to accompany him in his plane when he flew back to Buganda last month, and to be his guests at the Palace for several days. On December 3, at the Midland Institute, Birmingham, Miss Mary Benson is to give an eye-witness account of the scenes that marked the return of the Kabaka to his ancestral home. —E. A. Knight, Chairman, Birmingham and District Council for African Affairs.

NUCLEAR AGREEMENT

Success (in establishing a just and durable peace) may be long in coming, but there is no temporal force so capable of helping to achieve it as the strength, the might, and the courage of the 165 million Americans. . . . Our military strength must be based on the capability of the Soviet bloc and it cannot vary with their smiles or frowns. We will reduce our military strength only as the Soviets demonstrably reduce theirs.

—President Eisenhower, November 18, 1955.

FOR many people the deadlock reached in the discussions between the Foreign Ministers at Geneva, following so soon upon the rose-coloured reports of the "Summit" talks, is a tragic disappointment.

Yet it was evident to those not stupefied by wishful thinking, that the smiles and handshakes and mutual "back-slapping" which went on at the top level talks at Geneva were mere showmanship, concealing behind its decorative aspect, the knowledge of the deadlock which remained untouched and unresolved. The so-called "Geneva spirit" was not a spirit of good will, but a spirit of slightly intoxicated exhibitionism.

The fundamental differences between the East and the West were not looked at on that occasion, and both sides must have known without any question that when their Foreign Ministers met those differences would stand revealed in all their obstinate intransigence.

But, in fact, it is not so much the disagreements which are the obstacles to a settlement of the major questions, but the fundamental agreement on both sides that the possession of nuclear weapons is an essential. "There ain't goin' to be no war," because neither side would exactly relish the idea of touching off the explosion that would destroy in its conflagration the whole world, is the one idea on which both sides are agreed.

Neither side has changed its views, nor altered its mind as to its intentions, but so long as there is parity in nuclear weapons, concessions are considered to be unnecessary.

There is nothing new in this position except the appalling destructiveness and inhuman cruelty of the weapons on which the Powers have decided to put their whole reliance. A race in armaments which naturally arises from the "peace through strength" theory has invariably ended in war.

Present parity has put on the brake, but no one should delude themselves that a brake has been put upon the monstrous inventions of man. The struggle for strength goes on, and the President of the United States has made it clear that it is upon military strength that he and his country rely.

The tragedy today is not so much that the Foreign Ministers at Geneva have not been able to settle any of their differences, but that they have given us no sign of any new ap-

proach, of any fresh beginning, of any kind of vision.

Their words are the same words, as hackneyed as a worn-out record ground out upon a rusty barrel-organ; their ideas are the same ideas, as broken down and worthless as the inventions of a madman. President Eisenhower, in his message delivered by Mr. Dulles in a major foreign policy report, reveals this with terrifying clarity. He reiterates with pomp and pride a policy which in itself is a monstrous and insurmountable obstacle to peace.

Russia must disarm, and must demonstrate that she has done so, and then the United States will follow suit. It has been said here before, but it cannot be said too often, that it is irrational to expect Russia to take a step that the Western Powers will not themselves consider.

If reduction of armaments is to be counted as a sign of peaceful intention, then it is more than time that the Western Powers stopped asking someone else to stage that demonstration, while they hoard their own weapons and throw out menacing hints of even worse inventions.

If disarmament is the right step to end the deadlock then it should be taken regardless of the actions of other countries. It is this great moral lead that the whole world awaits; needs courage and faith of a high order, which it is apparent neither America nor Russia possess. It is an opportunity, which may never come again, for Great Britain to show her greatness.

D. N. Pritt on Geneva

The following statement on the Foreign Ministers' Meeting at Geneva was issued by Mr. D. N. Pritt, QC, President, British Peace Committee, last week.

MR. MACMILLAN'S failure to secure even a limited agreement on any aspect of any question discussed at Geneva is a disappointment which brings no credit to him or to the Government's present policy.

Public opinion was completely justified in believing that the Foreign Ministers' meeting could have had a fruitful outcome. A number of steps, however small, could have been taken in accordance with the Geneva Directive. Had these small agreements been made, this country, as well as world peace, would have benefited; and the Government could have eased the burden of taxation which it still finds necessary to pay the costs of its inflated arms programme.

The outcome of the Foreign Ministers' meeting is due primarily to the Western decision to put forward a non-negotiable policy on each of the problems before them. They continued to act as if the summit meeting had never taken place. Their proposals were made, not in the spirit of conciliation, but rather in the old and already discredited spirit of "talking from strength." There was not one question on which the West was prepared to budge one inch from its previously prepared positions.

The Russians were told they must agree to see a united Germany be rearmament and brought into NATO. The Soviet refusal to accept this has been made plain over and over again and to persist in putting it forward was utter folly. Russia's attitude on this question should not surprise us, since it is very similar to that of large and influential sections of public opinion in Britain, France and other countries in Europe.

On disarmament, the West put forward no proposals which would bring reductions in armaments or armed forces, and they opposed plans which included ideas which they themselves had previously made. On East-West contact, the Russians were told they must accept all seventeen western proposals or none. Mr. Macmillan refused to negotiate on easing barriers to East-West trade.

All this cannot, however, cancel the solid and lasting improvement in international affairs which has taken place; nor should it be used to discourage renewed and more effective efforts to secure settlements acceptable to both sides.

Once again, public opinion must exert pressure that will ensure real negotiations and agreements which are of benefit to all.

See Behind the News—page two.

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